1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts NS29

PREFACE

[P. iii]

114 Story, to augment my incomplete data on Tachi culture, of which it is impossible to get a full description today. Another addition to my Tachi notes comes from Mr. E.W. Gifford, who kindly gave me his record of Tachi moieties and genealogies.

I am indebted to Dr. Stanley S. Newman for the lively account of a Yokuts war, and to Mr. Donald Scott for the photograph of Yokuts specimens in the Peabody Museum, Harvard University.

A very valuable contribution to the anthropologist's knowledge of the Yokuts is Dr. Stanley S. Newman's Yokuts Language of California.[2] The archaeology of Valley Yokuts territory, already investigated by Gifford, Schenck, Heizer, and others, has been summarized by Dr. Waldo R. Wedel in connection with his own researches at Buena Vista Lake.

A few brief papers from the pen of Mr. George W. Stewart have preserved glimpses of Yokuts life with which he came in contact through his many years of service with the Visalia Land Office. Like Mr. Latta, Mr. Stewart had keen sympathy and respect for the native dwellers in the San Joaquin Valley. One of Mr. Stewart's longer papers and the recent culture element study of Dr. Harold Driver have been examined but not used in the preparation of this ethnography.[3]

Published papers on the Western Mono tribes were few at the time of my field work, chiefly Kroeber's linguistic study, Shoshonean Dialects of California, and Gifford's works on Northfork Mono myths and social organization, "Western Mono Myths" and "Dichotomous Social Organization in South Central California."[4] Since that time Gifford's ethnographic account of the Northfork Mono has appeared, but the scantiness of the data in 1925 is indicated by the brevity of treatment received by the Mono in Kroeber's Handbook.[5]

114 A more thorough knowledge of the Western Mono peoples in contact with the Yokuts of the
● 121 foothills was exigent to a broader understanding of Yokuts culture and therefore, after working with the Wukchumni Yokuts of Kaweah River, I visited their Shoshonean neighbors to the north, the Waksachi. The contact proved too fruitful to abandon after brief interviews
121 and consequently fairly full accounts were got of both Waksachi and Wobonuch life. So com-

---

[2] Since published; see Bibliography.

[3] The Yokuts Indians of the Kaweah River Region. Sierra Club Bulletin, 12:385-400, 1927; Culture Element Distributions, VI: Southern Sierra Nevada, UC-AR 1:53-154, 1937. (See Bibliography for explanation of abbreviations.)

[4] JAFL, 36:301-367, 1923; UC-PAAE 11:291-296, 1916.

[5] Handbook of California Indians, 584-589.

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 N529 Yokuts N529

PREFACE
[P. iva]

121 pletely had these Western Mono absorbed the culture of the San Joaquin Valley tribes that to separate it from Yokuts for purposes of publication seemed not only artificial but impractical. The result was a somewhat unwieldy mass of material, the sheer bulk of which has been largely responsible for the long delay in preparing it for press.

Even now the record which follows is merely that: a record of ethnographic facts unaugmented by comparative references and unadorned by interpretative conclusions. The random allusions to other cultures often are more remote than immediate, casually calling attention to some ethnic similarity of piquant interest. For those who would completely comprehend the civilizations of the natives of the San Joaquin Valley, two valuable papers on the

[Text continues TOP of P. ivb---Analyst]

Postscript

114 Since the above was written, certain changes have taken place. A summary paper, "Yokuts and Western Mono Social Organization," largely based on the data herein, has been published (1945), and the materials in the thesis, "The Narcotic Plant Datura in Aboriginal American Culture" are being augmented and prepared for publication. Wherever possible, bibliographic references have been brought up to date.

000 The kinship systems originally incorporated herein have been withdrawn and probably will be combined with the genealogies and personal names in a later paper. Kinship systems of several Yokuts and Western Mono

[Text continues Bottom of P. ivb, ---Analyst]

1: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930) 1948 NS29 Yokuts NS29

PREFACE
[P. iv b]

121 cultures of adjacent tribes must be consulted, namely, Dr. Erminie W. Voegelin's Tübatulabal Ethnography, and Miwok Material Culture, by S.A. Barrett and E.W. Gifford.

ooo My gratitude is cast in two directions -- to the many informants whose amiability and sincere interest sustained them through tedious inquiries and labored explanations, and to those members of the Department of Anthropology at the University of California who sponsored my work and leniently permitted me to prolong its completion: more particularly to Mrs. Josie Alonzo, Mrs. Mollie Lawrence, Mr. Sam Osborn, and to Dr. A.L. Kroeber, Dr. Robert H. Lowie, and Mr. E.W. Gifford.

Santa Cruz, California
September 13, 1943

A.H. Gayton

Postscript

ooo tribes are available in the publications of Kroeber, Gifford, and Driver.

An editorial decision to divide the present ethnography into two sections will facilitate both publication and subsequent use. Therefore it will appear in two parts with the subtitles: Part I, Tulare Lake, Southern Valley, and Central Foothill Yokuts, and Part II, Northern Foothill Yokuts and Western Mono. The Index will be found in Part II.

Here I should like to add my thanks to Mrs. Mary Anne Whipple for her meticulous care in preparing the manuscript for press.

November 8, 1945

A.H.G.

286 was being formed. The process was continued as far as desired, say some 3 feet, bringing the worked part to within about 2 feet of the ends. The very loose twisting there permitted the 8 cords (of the 4 doubled warp cords) to be laid side by side, and the weft cord was drawn through the original turns in these two-ply cords, making a finer but equally broad textile (fig. 13, f). This continued for 6 or 8 inches; then the weft cord was broken off at a length equal to that of the warp cords. There were then 9 strands which were grouped into threes, braided together to the end, and tied with a couple of final knots.

At the opposite or closed end were the loops which had been left in the cleft stick at the start. A weft cord was inserted a few turns below this, then worked up, turn by turn, until the beginning of the loop was reached. From here on the weft was carried through the original turns in the 2-ply cord, as at the other end, until the loop was woven solid. When finished, this loop was about 3/4 of an inch wide, the band itself about 1-1/2 inches. The loop end was fastened to the carrying net by means of the cord rings, as mentioned above. The free end of the tumpline was tied to the opposite cord ring of the net and adjusted as need demanded.

[302] Headnets were made of fine milkweed twine, presumably by the same technique as the coarser carrying net. The only one seen was a Choinimni specimen made of grocer's string.

286 291 Belts were worn by both sexes for supporting the breechclout, a plain variety for ordinary use, a beaded form for gala dress. The technique was the same "sewing" process, but the looped end was cut open and the ends grouped in threes and braided as at the loose end. The fancy belt was made of the finest milkweed cord. The weft thread carried a clamshell disk bead at each point between the warp (see fig. 13, g). Such a belt was called koikoi''ăd, in reference to the beads.

283 Sinew string (pikăt) was made only by men. Its most notable use was for bowstrings; other uses were the feathering of arrows and fastening of arrowpoints, the tying parts of fish spears and harpoons, wrapping feathers on earplugs, sewing hide, tying the umbilicus stump. For the method of manufacture see Michahai-Waksachi (Pt. II).

Basketry

285 [12] Practically no information on basketmaking was taken, since the art was in no danger of extinction and it was hoped that some investigator would undertake its special study. Yokuts basketry technique was highly refined, and the Wukchumni today still produce some of the finest examples. Some general remarks on Yokuts basketry are made by Kroeber, and their

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946
NS29 Yokuts NS29

CULTURE-ENVIRONMENT INTEGRATION: EXTERNAL REFERENCES IN YOKUTS LIFE

A. H. GAYTON

I

ONE OF THE ASPECTS of culture dynamics which has received particular attention in recent years is that of integration. Pattern, complex, configuration, integrating factor, and theme have been used as labels for those culture elements which seem to cling together about some core of thought or action. When such constellations interpenetrate various aspects of a total culture they are regarded as integrators—cohesive forces binding parts, if not wholes, of a culture together. The function of the "theme" as a dynamic factor has recently been set forth by Dr M. E. Opler with some pertinent examples of active patterns in Chiricahua Apache life.[1] I interpret his construct of "theme" to be essentially the more familiar "culture pattern," in the ideational realm, with the factor of emotional surcharge taken into account as the active ingredient. Unlike some anthropological concepts, his has the virtue of being grounded in specific ethnographic realities.

An earlier paper by Dr Du Bois demonstrated both cohesive and disruptive action in Tututni culture deriving from the wealth concept, and still earlier, the three-way forces of mythology, chieftanship, and shamanism maintaining social balance in Yokuts life were described by the present writer.[2] The most intellectualized account of cultural integration is that for the Hopi by Dr Thompson in which no mechanism of integration is shown save an all-pervading logic of the mind.[3]

In the abstract we have to assume that some of these basic cultural currents work for or against each other; others, and perhaps the bulk of culture elements, may be neutral. When Opler completes his thematic analysis of Apache culture, presumably the counter-balance of the driving parts within the structure will be

1 Morris Edward Opler, *Themes as Dynamic Forces in Culture* (American Journal of Sociology, vol. 51, pp. 198-206, 1945).

2 Cora Du Bois, *The Wealth Concept as an Integrative Factor in Tolowa-Tututni Culture* (in *Essays in Honor of Alfred Louis Kroeber*, pp. 149-165, Berkeley, 1936); A. H. Gayton, *Yokuts-Mono Chiefs and Shamans* (University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 24, pp. 361-420, 1930).

3 Laura Thompson, *Logico-Aesthetic Integration in Hopi Culture* (American Anthropologist, vol. 47, pp. 540-553, 1945).

4: Gayton E-5 (1925-1930)1946
NS29 Yokuts NS29

revealed.[3a] Meanwhile, the integrations described in the papers mentioned above deal exclusively with immaterial culture—political organization, economics, social or religious or aesthetic values—without relation to externals, especially so broad an external as environment. Environment, when considered as relevant to culture, is usually limited to its place in the subsistence or material aspects—the phase of native life known as exploitation of environment which has been described with increasing frequence in recent years in ethno-biological studies. Thus, the thematic factors of social life on the one hand and the environmental factors of material culture on the other have been left as disparate parts which move in the total culture without any direct conjunctive action.[4]

In at least one culture, that of the Yokuts and Western Mono of the San Joaquin valley foothills, there is an intimate relation between important immaterial phases of the culture and the environmental setting. This will be described, and in so doing the function of the environment as a culture stabilizer, possibly even as an active integrator, will become evident.

There is nothing essentially new in this viewpoint. The relation of culture to environment in the determination of culture areas was given a broad treatment by Dr Wissler, whose conclusions have been succinctly reëxpressed by Dr Kroeber in his own more recent extensive survey of culture areas, ecology, and culture climaxes in North America. Thus:

> We can accept Wissler's findings on the relation of culture areas to environment. He concludes that environment does not produce a culture, but stabilizes it. Because at many points the culture must be adapted to the environment, the latter tends to hold it fast. Cultures therefore incline to change slowly once they have fitted themselves to a setting, and to enter new environment with more difficulty than to spread over the whole of the natural area in which their form was worked out. If they do enter a new type of territory, they are subject to changes. Once fitted to an environment, they are likely to alter radically only through some factor profoundly affecting subsistence, such as the introduction of agriculture.[5]

Wissler made an early attempt to fix the psychological factor in the relation-

---

3a Since this paper went to press Dr Opler has published a thematic analysis of Lipan culture, *An Application of the Theory of Themes* (Journal, Washington Academy of Sciences, vol. 36, pp. 137-166, 1946).

4 That something similar to themes exist in material culture is evident when techniques are considered with their aesthetic goals and standards of craftsmanship. For example, Dr O'Neale's study of Yurok and Karok basketry is replete with the ideational overtones of the craft (Lila M. O'Neale, *Yurok-Karok Basket Weavers*, University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 32, pp. 1-184, 1932). If integration is a verity as a cultural process it should be demonstrable in material as well as immaterial forms of culture.

5 A. L. Kroeber, *Cultural and Natural Areas of Native North America* (University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology, vol. 38, 1939), p. 6.

5: Gayton E-5 (1925-1927) 1929
NS29 Yokuts NS29
Western Mono NS25

Y W 121 323 Y W 323 Y W 114 323 Y W 323 [462] Y W [438] [437]

METHODS OF POTTERY-MAKING

Interest attaches to the pottery-making methods employed by Yokuts and Western Mono groups since they presumably represent the extreme peripheral cases of the Pueblo non-paddle ceramic technique.[3]

Descriptions of pottery-making were obtained from several Yokuts informants living in the foothills, but at the time the ground was too dry from the summer season to permit digging for clay. The following January a Wobonuch Western Mono informant, Jane Waley, of Dunlap, Fresno county, made pottery to demonstrate the method: her procedure corroborated the descriptions of the other informants. Her method will be taken as typical, for pottery-making is practically identical in all San Joaquin valley groups from which data have been obtained. The variations will be mentioned below.

Further corroborative evidence appears in the notes which S. A. Barrett left with his collection. A Yaudanchi woman, apparently Mary Sanwaihat,[4] made pottery for him. The method which he witnessed, and the models of pottery bases in his collections, are in keeping with the data obtained by the present writer.

Pottery-making was always a woman's task. If a man's family was in a strange neighborhood and he found a clay bed, he might bring some clay home to his wife. Not all women knew how to make pottery but this "was because they were stupid or too lazy to try," according to this informant, and not due to any social, economic, or functional restriction. Although pottery was sold to such women by those who made it, neither a standard price nor a professional manufacture developed. The "sale" was usually a friendly exchange for basketry or acorn meal.

Pottery was usually made in the spring when the ground was soft enough for digging and the sunlight sufficiently warm to dry the pots before firing. Large lumps of clay were frequently taken home, dried, and stored for use at other seasons. The necessary type of clay was reported as abundant by most informants of the pottery-making groups.

[3] E. W. Gifford, Pottery-Making in the Southwest, this series, 23:353–373, 1926.
[4] Cf. fn. 1.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
[P.361]
NS29 Yokuts NS29

YOKUTS-MONO CHIEFS AND SHAMANS

BY
A. H. GAYTON

CONTENTS

	PAGE
Introduction	361
Tribal organization	365
Officials in mythology	369
The chief	372
Social status	372
Executive functions	377
Ceremonial duties	384
Minor officials	386
The shaman	388
Source and uses of power	388
Malicious activities	392
Chiefs and shamans	396
Motsa: a poisoner-chief	401
Conclusions	407
Appendix	418
Informants and genealogies	418

INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this paper is not exactly what the title perhaps implies: it does not purport to be a discussion of social organization, nor of religion as such. While descriptions of political organization and the chief's place in it, of religious ideas, concepts of the supernatural, and the shaman's relation to them, of ceremonial activities, and of other cultural miscellanea, must appear here, they are not offered as topics of primary interest, but rather as stage settings and properties against which the chiefs and shamans play their interacting rôles. It would no doubt be simpler to define the chiefs as legal officials in a static social setting, and to relegate the shamans to their place as professional doctors; but in so doing we would have only a partial picture, and that a conventional one, of these functionaries. Native informants on first inquiry invariably describe their chiefs as the official leaders of the political unit, adding as other officials messengers, dance managers, and in some instances, subchiefs. Shamans are never recognized as officials. Yet all informants supply anecdotal evidence which shows that the shamans, unofficially,

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts NS29

121 were political factors of tremendous power. To show the chiefs and shamans not as categorized functionaries, but as individuals of elevated powers operating in a given social setting is the purpose of this paper.

114 The material herein presented represents a part of data collected during various field investigations made by the author for the Depart-
122 ment of Anthropology, University of California, during the years 1925–1928. A fellowship of the National Research Council and funds for further field work kindly supplied by the department named have made this presentation possible.

114 The tribes under consideration are certain groups of Western Mono and Yokuts which at one time occupied between them the
[101] plains and foothills of the San Joaquin valley in south central California. The published material on the tribes of this region is not extensive. The pioneer work among the Yokuts was done by Professor A. L. Kroeber, and formed the basis of his account of Yokuts habitat and culture which appears in his Handbook.[1] The Handbook likewise gives the best summary of known facts concerning Western Mono culture.[2] Mr. E. W. Gifford is the original contributor.[3]

101 The location of Yokuts and Western Mono tribes and the juxta-
121 position of the two linguistic stocks in the San Joaquin valley have been fully discussed by Kroeber.[4] For the purposes of this paper
171 the linguistic differences of Yokuts and Western Mono tribes are without importance. Certain cultural differences exist between the stocks but are no greater than comparable differences within the Yokuts
[642] area itself. In the matter of political organization the Yokuts and Western Mono were practically identical. The moiety division of the
[616] valley and northern foothill Yokuts and North Fork Mono was a ceremonial dichotomy not affecting the number or powers of tribal officials.

---

[1] Handbook of the Indians of California (BAE, Bull. 78, 1925), 474–543; Yokuts Language of South Central California, this series, 2:165–377, 1907; Indian Myths of South Central California, *ibid.*, 4:192, 193, 204–242, 1907; California Kinship Systems, *ibid.*, 12:352–358, 1917; Yokuts Names (JAFL, 19:142, 143, 1906); The Yokuts and Yuki Languages (Boas Anniv. Volume, 64–79 [New York, 1906]). Contributions on Yokuts culture from other authors are: Stephen Powers, Tribes of California (CNAE, 3 [Washington, 1877]):369–392; George W. Stewart, Two Yokuts Traditions (JAFL, 21:237–239, 1908); A Yokuts Creation Myth (*ibid.*, 19:322, 1906); A. H. Gayton, Yokuts and Western Mono Pottery-Making, this series, 24:3, 239–255, 1929); The Ghost Dance of 1870 in South Central California, *ibid.*, 28:57–82, 1930.

[2] Pp. 584–589.

[3] Dichotomous Social Organization in South Central California, this series, 11:291–296, 1916; California Kinship Terminologies, *ibid.*, 18:51, 52, 1923; Western Mono Myths, JAFL, 36:302–367, 1923.

[4] Handbook, 474–488, 584–589, pl. 47.

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts NS29

A complete, intensive study of Yokuts culture is no longer possible. The northern valley dwellers have been extinct for nearly a century. A meager remnant of central valley or Tulare lake Yokuts is now huddled on a rancheria near Lemoore, Kings county. In this group but one woman, Josie Alonzo, is capable of giving information on the customs of her people during the period of her childhood, say 1860–1880. Another woman, senile in 1925 and since dead, gave some additional, fragmentary, data on the Tachi and Telamni. The southern valley dwellers are completely unknown to the writer. Of these people, culturally obliterated many years ago and perhaps entirely gone today, Kroeber's account is in all probability the most complete that we shall ever have.

Mountainward, conditions for field work are better. In the foothills at least a few representatives of almost every Yokuts tribe from Fresno river south to Kern river still dwell at or near their old village sites. The bulk of the data on these tribes was obtained from those dwelling in the Kings-Kaweah river section. The remaining foothill Yokuts data are from the region of Tule river.

The Western Mono are represented here exclusively by the Wobonuch and Waksachi tribes. According to reliable informants the Patwisha (Balwisha) were culturally identical with the Waksachi. Mr. E. W. Gifford has kindly given me relevant data from his unpublished material on the North Fork Mono. The Western Mono, owing to their location in the mountains, relatively protected from intensive white intrusion, now number more than their less fortunate Yokuts neighbors to the west.

The material from the regions investigated can, I think, be taken as representative for the entire valley between the Fresno and Kern rivers. The present writer's field investigations were in the nature of an ethnographic survey. In covering so large an area in the greater part of which aboriginal culture has entirely disappeared, the most fruitful course to pursue seemed that of an extensive, general survey rather than an intensive, localized one. Of the tribes dwelling on the upper reaches of the San Joaquin, Kings, Kaweah, and Tule rivers, and of one tribe in the old Tulare lake area, at least one or more natives suitable in age and knowledge to act as informants were found. While such informants might not always be able to give detailed information their general knowledge was sufficient to give us an analyzable account of Yokuts culture. Social life in the San Joaquin valley was largely intertribal. Hence an intelligent informant had a

6: Gayton E-5 (1925-1928) 1930
NS29 Yokuts NS29

considerable knowledge of the customs of neighboring tribes as well as his own. The tribal affiliations, names, and approximate age of contributing informants are given in the appendix.

Statements in this paper concerning Yokuts and Western Mono culture for which no references are given are from the author's field notes. The origipal data not appearing here will eventually be published as an ethnographic account.

Much of the material herein presented is in the form of anecdotes or direct statements made by informants. For the sake of clarity these have been converted into the third person with necessary revisions of grammatical construction, and substitution of suitable synonyms for colloquial words or phrases. Certain original words and phrases which seemed particularly significant have been retained, and always appear in quotation marks. The Spanish word fandango is used in south central California for any dance, ceremonial, or celebration, whether religious or profane, and is used herein in the same sense. The only native term which has been retained throughout is winatum, the name for an official whose duties comprise more than those included in the nearest English equivalents, messenger or henchman. The Western Mono title for this official is natinab. To avoid confusion winatum has been used in Western Mono accounts as well, for the office is identical in every respect in the political organization of both linguistic stocks.

The names of tribes have been given the same spelling as in plate 47 of Kroeber's Handbook, with the exception of Balwisha, which appears here as Patwisha. The occurrence of (Y) or (WM) after a tribal name or word indicates Yokuts or Western Mono linguistic adhesion. Names of individuals and of localities have been rendered in a simple phonetic transcription approximating native sounds. The phonetic values of letters used in native words are:

a: as in English father	au: as in English cow
e: as in English fate	oi: as in English toy
ĕ: as in English met	ɛ: as in English about
i: as in English pique	ĭ: as in English sang
ĭ: as in English pin	tɛ: as in English change
o: as in English note	ṭ: alveolar t, approximating the tr of English trip
u: as in English rule	': glottal stop
ai: as in English thy	

Other letters have sounds as in English.

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
NS29 Yokuts NS29

For this family there is, as might be expected, no native name. The exact form of the word is usually yokote, sometimes yokots. Yokoch would therefore be the most accurate general orthography, provided the vowels were given the quality of continental open o and spoken short with the accent on the first syllable. Yokut is of course only a false English singular.

As to the name Mariposan, it is sufficient to say that its sole claim to acceptance rests on the employment of a rule of priority borrowed from the system of modern biological technical nomenclature, never formally or generally accepted by anthropologists, and as undesirable to attempt to introduce into ethnology as it will be impossible to enforce in the end. It is derived from Mariposa, meaning butterfly in Spanish, the name of a California county which was not organized until after the American settlement. This county may once have contained some Yokuts Indians; but in its present smaller extent it does not cover one square mile of what is known to have been Yokuts territory.

The dialect specially investigated is that of the people calling themselves Yaudanchi, plural Yowechani, who inhabited the foothill region of Tule river. By most of their neighbors they are called Yaulanchi. At present they constitute a small fraction of the one hundred and fifty Indians on Tule river reservation, the majority being Yauelmani, a tribe originally farther south. It has seemed best to avoid confusion by first treating this dialect alone without reference to other dialects in regard to which less complete information was obtained, and then to follow with comparative notes on such material as was obtained from these other dialects, thus avoiding duplication of presentation as much as possible. The first part of this paper, therefore, consists of a discussion of the phonetics and grammar of Yaudanchi, followed by a vocabulary and interlinear texts in the same dialect. In part second are given comparative grammatical notes on the Yauelmani dialect of Kern river. A third part of the paper deals more briefly with various other dialects, and includes a number of short texts, as well as comparisons and summaries. A comparative Yokuts vocabulary, covering all the dialects from which there is material, has been reserved for inclusion in a subsequent publication.

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
NS29 Yokuts NS29

[PP. 173-307 not processed]

[121] The investigations on which this paper is based were begun in 1900 for the California Academy of Sciences, but were mainly made in 1902, 1903, and 1904 in connection with the Ethnological and Archæological Survey of California carried on through the [122] liberal support of Mrs. Phœbe A. Hearst by the Department of Anthropology of the University of California.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA,
May, 1905.

8: Kroeber E-5 (1900-1906)1907
NS29 Yokuts NS29

III. OTHER DIALECTS AND COMPARISONS.

121 This third part of the present paper deals briefly and comparatively with all the Yokuts dialects on which material is available. As originally written, this part contained discussions of six or eight dialects besides Yaudanchi and Yauelmani. Subsequently an opportunity arose to make a special study of the territory, tribal divisions, and dialectic groups of the Yokuts family as a whole. This study was carried out in the early part of 1906, and included among its results about twenty vocabularies, of different dialects, available for systematic comparison. This increased body of material has made possible a determination of the principal divisions of the Yokuts family. While many dialects have become entirely extinct, it appears, from the information obtained, that none of those thus lost was sufficiently distinctive to exclude it from the several dialectic groups that have been established. In other words, these groups appear to represent all the principal divisions of the Yokuts language at the time of its first contact with white civilization, and the dialects that have been lost to differ from those known only in minor features.

128 The linguistic material obtained in the last study made was recorded at so many places, and from so many different individuals, that it was impracticable to extend it beyond vocabularies, and to enter into grammatical investigations, in the time that was available. Previous knowledge of the structure of Yaudanchi and Yauelmani however made it possible to determine certain structural features, such as the pronouns and the verbal suffixes, in many cases, and the morphological information secured in this way is sufficient, when combined with the more readily obtained lexical and phonetic results, to allow of a satisfactory general classification of all the dialects.

9: Gifford E-5 (1913-1916)1916
NS29 Yokuts NS29

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA PUBLICATIONS
IN
AMERICAN ARCHAEOLOGY AND ETHNOLOGY

Vol. 11, No. 5, pp. 291-296 February 1, 1916

DICHOTOMOUS SOCIAL ORGANIZATION IN SOUTH CENTRAL CALIFORNIA

BY
EDWARD WINSLOW GIFFORD

Since 1913 the writer has been engaged in a study of the social organization of the Indians of South Central California. The first product of this study, a report on the exogamous moieties of the Central Sierra Miwok, is now in press. Following the completion of this work, the writer set out to make a preliminary investigation of other tribes to determine the geographic limits of the moiety organization. This preliminary survey, which is to be followed by careful study of each group, has not been entirely completed to date. The following brief statements summarize the data obtained, especially with reference to tribes, which, like the Miwok, are organized on the basis of dual divisions.

The survey so far shows that the area in which moieties exist extends from Amador County in the north to Kings County in the south. In the southern counties the area extends from the eastern foothills of the Coast Range on the west to the high Sierra Nevada on the east, thus embracing both plains and mountain tribes. In the north moieties have been found only in the Sierra Nevada.

Aside from the Miwok, the tribes which have been visited are the Chukchansi, the Gashowu, and the Tachi of Yokuts stock; and the North Fork Mono, the Inyo Mono, the Bridgeport Mono, the Tübatulabal, and the Kawaiisu of Shoshonean stock. Of these the Chukchansi live in Madera County north of the

9: Gifford E-5 (1913-1916)1916
NS29 Yokuts NS29

San Joaquin River, the Gashowu in Fresno County south of the San Joaquin River, and the Tachi in Kings County north of Tulare Lake. Of the Shoshonean, the North Fork Mono live in Madera County north of the San Joaquin River, adjoining the Chukchansi, but higher in the mountains and more to the east. The Inyo Mono inhabit [illegible]wens Valley, Inyo County, east of the Sierra Nevada. The Bridgeport Mono dwell in the vicinity of Bridgeport in Mono County, also east of the Sierra Nevada. The Tübatulabal occupy the Kern River region, and the Kawaiisu, who speak a dialect of Ute-Chemehuevi, inhabit the Tehachapi Mountains.

The principal facts concerning social organization among the tribes, where positive data were obtained, are as follows:

The tribes exhibiting a moiety organization are the Chukchansi, the Gashowu, and the Tachi. The North Fork Mono have, instead of indivisible moieties, two phratries composed of two clans each. The other tribes appear to have no moiety organization.

Personal names among all of the groups, with the exception of the Bridgeport Mono and possibly the Kawaiisu, are usually meaningless; at least the Indians can give no interpretations for them. Furthermore, names are transmitted, except perhaps among the Chukchansi, a child usually being named after either a living or a dead relative of the father. Frequently when an individual is named after a living relative the name is changed upon the death of the namesake. Miwok names invariably have very full meanings and are not transmitted. A majority of the Bridgeport Mono names also have meanings.

The kinship systems of the three Yokuts tribes (Chukchansi, Gashowu, and Tachi) resemble closely in application the Miwok system, which is described in detail in the forthcoming paper on Miwok moieties. The characteristic features are, first, the possession of but one term for grandchild, one for grandfather, and one for grandmother; second, the grouping of cross-cousins in two generations, one older and one younger than that of the speaker. On the other hand, the kinship system of the North Fork Mono on the western slope of the Sierra Nevada is quite unlike the Miwok and Yokuts systems. It is almost identical

10: Beals & Hester E-4, 5 (no date) 1958
NS29 Yokuts NS29

A LACUSTRINE ECONOMY IN CALIFORNIA[1]

RALPH L. BEALS AND JOSEPH A. HESTER, JR.

(2) IN ANOTHER PAPER we have proposed a new ecological classification of the Indians of California.[2] In this paper, we describe in more detail an example of a lake ecological type. The example is chosen because it departs widely from the usual conception of the acorn economy of (01) the California Indians. The description will center on the Tachi, a group of southern valley Yokuts, who are the best known of the lake-based tribes.

(3) The southern valley Yokuts, with their neighbors, the Buena Vista Yokuts, occupy the central and western portion of the San Joaquin Valley in California. The region is predominately a desert environ-(32) ment approximating the type of the Mohave Desert. The mean July temperature ranges from 84 degrees in the valley to approximately 78 degrees in the foothills away from the valley, but summer daily maxima frequently are above 100 degrees, while mean January temperatures are between 40 and 44 degrees. The average annual precipitation for much of the area is less than 5 inches but rises to 10 inches toward the foothills. Some minor areas may register 15 to even 20 inches in the coast range mountains to the west, although it is not known that the Yokuts utilized these areas. In the modified Köppen classification, at least 85 percent of the area has a BWh climate similar to that of the Mohave Desert. Most of the remainder has hot steppe-

[1] This paper is the product of a research program on California Indian Ecology conducted at the University of California, Los Angeles by Ralph L. Beals, Director, and Joseph A. Hester, Jr., Associate Director, and a staff of assistants. We are indebted to Dr. Harold Driver, University of Indiana, for suggestions.

[2] "A New Ecological Typology of the California Indians". Paper presented at the International Congress of Anthropological and Ethnological Sciences, Philadelphia, 1956.

[P. 31B]

121 Ecologically the great central valley of California
133 forms a single unit. Nevertheless it is convenient for
131 the purposes of this paper to divide the entire area into two portions, north and south. The vast expanse from Red Bluff to the Tehachapi is too extensive to cover demographically in a single exposition. Moreover, the northern tribes, the Wintun and Maidu, are physiographically clearly segregated from the southern by the northern extension of San Francisco Bay and the delta of the rivers. Hence we shall consider here only those peoples south of the Sacramento and American River watersheds.

The area possesses definite natural limits but its exact boundaries must be to some extent arbitrary. On the north the line has already been indicated: the south bank of the upper Bay and the Sacramento River as far upstream as a point five miles below the city of Sacramento and thence easterly along the El Dorado—Amador County line into the high mountains. This follows Kroeber's tribal boundary between the Maidu and the Sierra Miwok. On the west the line starts northeast of Mt. Diablo and follows the western edge of the San Joaquin Valley to the Tehachapi Mountains. On the east we include the Sierra Nevada as far as was reached by permanent habitation on the west slope. The southern extremity is represented by the crest of the Tehachapi.

133 The region designated embraces the territory of the
[10] Plains and Sierra Miwok, the Yokuts, the Western Mono, the Tubatulabal, and the Kawaiisu. From the standpoint of habitat the area is diversified since it extends from the swampy valley floor through the oak country of the lower foothills into the transition life-zone of the middle altitudes. Perhaps an ecological segregation would be desirable. Such a procedure, however, would cut across tribal boundaries and make an accurate evaluation of population difficult. On the ac-
[128] companying maps, areas are delineated, and numbered, primarily for convenience of reference. At the same time they conform as closely as is feasible with the natural subdivisions of the territory marked out by river valleys, lakes, plains, and mountains. It should be stressed that they do not necessarily coincide precisely with the areas occupied by specific tribes or groups of tribes.

175 The demography of the central valley is rendered
*161 still more complex by the fact that the contact with the white race took place in a series of steps rather than by a single overwhelming invasion. In central Mexico, or to a somewhat lesser degree in northwestern California, aboriginal life continued relatively untouched until there occurred a rapid and catastrophic occupation of the entire territory. As a result, the population was

13:Riddell E-5 (1949) 1955 NS29 Yokuts NS29

NOTES ON YOKUTS WEATHER SHAMANISM AND THE RATTLESNAKE CEREMONY

By FRANCIS A. RIDDELL

121 THE following notes were obtained by the writer on a visit to the Tule Reservation near Porterville, Tulare County, California, on December 20, 1949. The informant from whom 115 the notes were obtained, José Vera, was an 82-year-old man who was half-Mexican and half-Koyeti Yokuts. José was capable of speaking Koyeti, Spanish, and English. The experiences related to me by this man were in part his own, in part those related to him by his Yokuts maternal grandmother. He was emphatic that he could not be a real spokesman for the almost aboriginal culture of his grandmother because that had passed away by the time he was born. Despite his modesty, however, it is evident from talking to him that he had seen enough of the remnant of the old culture to have received and retained some of its flavor. Many of the things he saw, heard, and believed in when he was a boy he found could not be explained to younger Indians of this generation. It bothered him not to be able to make himself believed and understood by these younger people. José was troubled by his inability to equate childhood experiences and teachings, to which he still retained some loyalty, with modern life and thought. It was in this troubled and thoughtful mood that he told about Yokuts weather shamanism and the rattlesnake ceremony.

796 When José was about ten years of age the Koyeti Yokuts 789 held a "fiesta" which was attended by a number of neighboring groups. The performance was held near the town of Porterville, and it was here that José saw a shaman make rain fall out of the sky that had been cloudless a few minutes earlier. 796 The rain was produced by a young Kernville Indian man who 788 became infuriated by the insults and skepticism leveled at him 578 by a drunk old Yokuts (?) man. The old man's insistence that the young man could not make rain caused the young man to become so angry that he had the old drunkard tied to a post. The young weather shaman vowed that he was going to kill the old man for his insults. Lending at least moral support to the young man at this time were his father and his father's father, both of whom were proved weather shamans 791 and had taught this art to the young man.

796 José said that the young man first got a container full of 789 water, the contents of which he violently sprinkled about him.

TACHI YOKUTS MUSIC

James Hatch

The bulk of the music to which this paper is devoted was recorded at three different dates by different observers. The first recordings were made by Professor A. L. Kroeber before 1904 on gramophone cylinders at the Lemoore Santa Rosa Yokuts reservation. The second series was made by a schoolteacher, Mrs. Margaret Cumain of Hanford, on disks at Hanford in the summer of 1940. The last and largest series was made by the writer in the latter part of 1957, also at Lemoore.

A number of points were to be covered in the selection of this particular group for study. First, the cylinder recordings which Professor Kroeber made in 1903 were Tachi rather than any of a number of other Yokuts groups. This added another dimension to the comparison of the stylistic features of the Yokuts music to the rest of California Indian music. The point was to find out if the music of this San Joaquin Valley group was stylistically more akin to that of northern California groups, such as the tribes of the Sacramento River Valley or to, say, that of coastal groups. Two contrasting styles were used for comparison, primarily because of their distinctive qualities and also because of their relative proximity.

The other main point concerned the writing of the music. A number of writers have referred to the possibility that variation in music might be structured, or rather, that there is an implicit "direction" to music and that variations can be plotted in a scheme similar to phonetics. That is, in any given musical pattern one might have a certain amount of variability and that variability might or might not be significant to the native. This proposition is almost self-evident; different singers can vary the features of any popular song so that the song will be either "better", "worse" or just "different". The changes which are not recognized as changes are also significant here. The problem is whether or not selection can be rigorous and still not alter the basic framework of the music.

The Tachi Yokuts were distributed over an area roughly north of Tulare Lake west to the Mount Diablo section of the coast range. They were a large and warlike group, possibly reaching a population of 500. The Yokuts language is classified with Miwok, Maidu, Wintun, and Costanoan as part of the Penutian superstock. Further ethnographic material on the Yokuts can be found in Kroeber (1907) and Gayton (1948).

The remnants of the Tachi spend a large part of the year on the Santa Rosa reservation near Lemoore. The number of families is constantly fluctuating and the population ranges from two or three dozen families to only two or three, depending upon the season. The housing consists of about three dozen shacks in extremely poor repair. The reservation is located on an alkali flat unsuitable for either agriculture or animal husbandry. The Tachis work at a variety of jobs. No one from the reservation has been known

18:Gayton & Newman L-5 (1930-1931)1940
N529 Yokuts N529

PREFACE

Two sections of the present study are by Stanley S. Newman: "Type Myth" and "Linguistic Aspects of Yokuts Style." For all other parts of the monograph A. H. Gayton is responsible.[1]

The study comprises three main parts: Part I is concerned with general considerations; Part II contains fifty-five hitherto unpublished Yokuts and Western Mono myths and tales collected in English by Gayton; Part III consists of abstracts, together with a comparative analysis, of the same fifty-five new tales and also of one hundred and four myths previously secured from the Yokuts and Western Mono and published by a number of authors. The three principal published collections thus utilized are two on the Yokuts: A. L. Kroeber, Indian Myths of South Central California, and F. F. Latta, California Indian Folklore; and pertinent parts of one Western Mono collection: E. W. Gifford, Western Mono Myths. Minor collections and even single published myths also have been abstracted for comparison. Also included in the abstracts are outlines of tales secured by Newman in Yokuts texts and not yet published. In order to make certain comparisons more effective there occasionally appear abstracts from other sources, notably those of the Growing Rock myths from S. A. Barrett's Pomo Myths and C. F. and E. W. Voegelin's Tubatulabal Myths and Tales. To Mrs. Voegelin, Dr. Willard Z. Park, Dr. Leslie Spier, and Mr. Maurice Zigmond, who generously placed their unpublished material at our disposal, the authors owe their deepest thanks.

In spite of the fact that our Yokuts myths were recorded independently by two trained persons, it is doubtful that the collection is fully representative. Neither worker was specifically engaged in myth collecting. The popularity of certain tales, which came forth again and again from informants of various local groups, is highly verified, but the extension of the Yokuts roster is indicated only by Newman's series of Yauelmani stories. And Yauelmani knowledge, tinged by Shoshonean contacts to south and east, cannot be regarded as typical of tribes more centrally placed in Yokuts culture, such as the Tachi or Wukchumni.

Bearing in mind the limitations of the material, we have made such interpretations as we can of the linguistic and narrative style of the myths, of their local differences that have cultural significance, and of their relation as a whole to the mythology of adjacent areas.

[ONLY PART I HAS BEEN PROCESSED — ANALYST]

May 31, 1937

---

[1]Newman's work was done while making a linguistic study of Yokuts dialects sponsored by the Committee on Research in Native Languages, 1930-31. Gayton obtained tales incidental to ethnographic field work for the Department of Anthropology, University of California, 1925-29, aided by a National Research Council Fellowship, 1928-30, for which grateful acknowledgment is made.

[p.4-A]

LINGUISTIC ASPECTS OF YOKUTS STYLE

121 To the extent that language is a medium for communicating ideas and for recording experience, appropriate equivalents in one language can always be supplied for those of another.[3] On this colorless level a language has no style; it is merely what a dictionary implies it is--a bundle of lexical units for referring to things and events and relations, an instrument for conveying the brute content of experience.

000 But we are intuitively aware that our own native tongue, at least, is more than a group of speech symbols for referring to chairs and tables. We know, for instance, that there are a number of ways of saying essentially the same thing, that similar notions can be expressed by different stylistic uses of the language. Our intimate association with our native mode of expression has made us so acutely sensitive to these minute differences of style that we can frequently identify speakers or writers by the manner in which they draw upon the resources of the language. But our ability to make such fine discriminations within one language medium carries with it the seeds of an illusion, for inevitably we get the feeling that there is no limit to the potential variations of style in our language. And we are encouraged in this illusion by literary artists, whose task it is to convince us that they are working with a perfectly flexible medium that can be molded to any desired shape.

121 The process of translation helps to correct such illusions. In translating we come to the unhappy realization that each language, instead of shaping itself to our will, governs and directs the trend of our expression. We are sharply reminded that languages have an inner resistance. Their materials are already shaped into a system of formal and conceptual patterns. Within the patterns of a language other than our own, we are forced to make uncongenial distinctions and to ignore other distinctions that seem
193 imperative to us. In Yokuts, for example, it is necessary to discriminate in all tenses an event

---

104 194 [3] Phonetic key.--i, as in English beet; e, as in English bet; a, as in German Mann; o, as in French note; u, as in English boot; '(as i', e', etc.) indicates that the vowel is long; p, t, k, aspirated surds, as in English pill, till, kill; b, d, g, unaspirated surds, as in French pas, tas, cas; ṗ, ṫ, ḳ, like b, d, g, but with simultaneous glottal release; ', glottal stop; . (as ṭ, ṣ, etc.) indicates that the consonant is articulated with the tip of the tongue against the alveolar ridge, somewhat farther back along the palate than the articulation for English t, s, etc. Other phonetic symbols can be read with their English value.

[P.4-8]

LINGUISTIC ASPECTS OF YOKUTS STYLE

193 which is in the process of transpiring from one that has already taken place and exists only as a resultant state or condition: a fundamental contrast is expressed in "he is walking" as against "he is in a condition subsequent to walking." Such a distinction is pedantic in English. On the other hand, the number category is treated very casually in Yokuts as compared to English. Plurality need not be expressed in most nouns unless there is some special point to it; the form "house" can do the work of referring to the plural as well as the singular.

● 121 These patterns, however, are merely the potentialities of style. A grammar deals with them directly, describing their forms and their conceptual functions. It is not concerned with the selective tendencies operating in actual usage to favor certain potentialities and to neglect others. It tells what a language can do but not what it considers worthwhile doing. To the native a grammar is always unconvincing, for it ignores the most vital and intimate part of his language--the intricate network of values, of attitudes and expectancies that guides his selection of expressive tools.

It would be a sentimental presumption to suppose that we, as outsiders, can respond significantly to the values locked within the Yokuts language. The values and anticipations that we have developed in our own language will not be satisfied in Yokuts. In spite of this, we can escape our bias to some degree by following the selective trends of Yokuts as manifestations of the stylistic values proper to that language and by examining the manner in which Yokuts arrives at an integrated style through the exploitation of certain of its latent resources and the rejection of others.

195 538 A striking uniformity of style is to be found in Yokuts, and the personal narratives collected in the field show the same stylistic qualities as the myths and tales. In these stories there is no tendency to indulge in the elaboration of concrete details. The notions expressed remain on a highly generalized level. This bareness and simplicity of expression can be traced to a number of grammatical factors. Suffixation is practically the only grammatical technique of Yokuts that augments the meaning of word roots. The addition of a suffix, however, sets in motion a chain of formal operations. Principal among these are the vowel processes: in addition to occasional vowel changes that occur under special conditions, the root vowels undergo constant changes dictated by an intricate system of vowel classes; and the vowels of the suffix itself must then be changed to harmonize with the vowels of the root. To add the durative present -'an, for example, the roots 'e·pi, "swim," and de·yi,

[182] [193] 193

[p.8-A]

195 monotonous. Instead of a sentence structure that is varied, that presents smooth contours in passing from one predication to another, the progression is a series of bumps and jerks; statements are made in the abrupt manner of a telegram. The brevity of the sentences suggests a cryptic style, but one searches in vain for evidences of concentrated expression, for latent implications, for subtle metaphors playing beneath the surface of overt meanings. The broadly generalized notions have a literal reference. But the absence of nicety and richness of expression in Yokuts is not the symptom of meager grammatical resources; it is, rather, the result of wilful selective forces within the language, for those resources which are the most powerful for the creation of meanings and for the development of notional complexes in words and in sentences are employed the most sparingly.

But, by the same token, the stylistic features of English cannot appeal to the intuitions of a Yokuts native. To him English must appear erratic, lacking in those qualities of restraint and consistency which he finds in his own language. He will see no uniformity in the pattern of English sentences: some are short, and some are tediously long; some are lucid and immediately comprehensible, and some are so overloaded with subordinated and sub-subordinated notions, with qualifications and involutions of meaning, that the mind is wearied in trying to

[Text continued top of page 8-B.-Analyst]

NARRATIVE STYLE

538 It is not that phase of style which concerns
● 121 itself with "character building," "plot development," "attainment of effects"--so-called "literary style"--which we wish to discuss here. Only an intense intimacy, such as Professor Lowie's with Crow life, language, and narrators,[4] or Dr. Reichard's with the Coeur d'Alêne,[5] would permit comment along those lines. Certainly neither Newman nor myself knows what may be the "literary" goals consciously or unconsciously sought in the telling of a Yokuts tale. The style we are concerned with is that which shows on the face of the stories: what materials are used in tale construction.

538 The narrative style of Yokuts myths is no
[182 less restrained than the grammatical style of
195 Yokuts language. One wonders if thought proc-
153] esses, habituated to precise grammatical forms,
[114] conform to an analagous pattern in arranging a series of ideas. The simplicity of the myths in Kroeber's collection was borne out by my own collection made twenty years later, and corroborative testimony is furnished by Newman's group of Dumna and Yauelmani texts.

[4]The Crow Indians, pp. 105-118.

[5]The Style of Coeur d'Alêne Mythology.

[Text continued bottom of page 8-B.-Analyst]